Twenty-Five Years
of the
Foreign Policy Association
1918-1943

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TWENTY-FIVE YEARS
OF THE
FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
1918-1943

GREETINGS ON TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 25, 1943.

My dear General McCoy:

Upon the conclusion of the first World War, the founders of the Foreign Policy Association saw a need which became the worthy objective of the Association, namely, "to carry on research and educational activities to aid in the understanding and constructive development of American foreign policy." In a democracy the Government functions with the consent of the whole people. The latter must be guided by the facts. The Foreign Policy Association is performing a high duty in facilitating the lucid presentation of the facts of world problems and their impact upon the United States.

I congratulate the Foreign Policy Association upon the celebration of its twenty-fifth anniversary. May it serve just as modestly, as objectively, and as effectively in that time of peace to which we all look forward as it now does in the midst of conflict.

Very sincerely yours,

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Major General Frank R. McCoy,
President, Foreign Policy Association,
22 East 38th Street,
New York, New York.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF THE F.P.A.

THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, in marking its twenty-fifth anniversary, finds itself facing questions in foreign affairs similar to those which existed in 1918, and which led to the founding of the Association at that time. These questions, however, are greatly enhanced in importance because of the global nature of the present war and the magnitude of postwar problems.

In this quarter of a century American opinion on world affairs has progressed from a stage of limited comprehension, due to lack of information, through a period in which it was based on sound information but lacked experience, to the present stage where knowledge and experience can permit the United States to share with other great nations the opportunity of moulding the postwar world. Americans are fighting all over the world and their families, working in war industries and on war farms and with war relief groups, are eagerly seeking more information about today's war and thinking about tomorrow's world.

Among the many agencies, both governmental and private, which have brought about this profound change in American public opinion, the Foreign Policy Association has played an increasingly useful rôle. It has made readily available to an ever-widening public essential information of a non-partisan and objective character on foreign affairs. This it has accomplished through continuous research, publications, public meetings throughout the country, and radio programs.

War Service In the present war emergency the Foreign Policy Association has made a consistent and important contribution in serving government departments and agencies, including the State Department, the War Department, the Board of Economic Warfare, etc. The Chairman and members of the Board of Directors, the President and a number of our branch chairmen have served and are continuing as members of important boards and as consultants and advisers. The head of the Research Department and its members have been used by government departments as consultants and some

have been drafted for important service. The Vice-President has been granted a leave of absence for the duration to serve the government. In spite of this large-scale service, involving the replacement of practically all of the research group, the work has been carried on without sacrifice of high standards and scholarship. All members of the staff and office have contributed to the war effort through volunteer service with the Red Cross, the Office of Civilian Defense and other agencies, and have aided in the blood bank, the conservation and collection of materials for war production, and the buying of war bonds.

Early Years The Foreign Policy Association has developed from a meeting in New York in April 1918 of nineteen writers, editors, educators and others to consider the rôle America might play in the period following the World War. This group organized a committee which soon took the name of "The Committee on American Policy in International Relations," and formulated a statement of principles looking toward a stable peace. Two weeks after the Armistice the Committee became the League of Free Nations Association, and in April 1921 the name of the organization was changed to Foreign Policy Association.

The first constitution of this parent body, adopted in December 1918, contained a statement of purpose which might well serve as the motto of the F.P.A. today: "Careful study of all sides of every important international question affecting the United States, and . . . communication of the results of such study to as large a number of the American people as possible." In these early years the organization was affected by the heated discussions over the League of Nations and the Treaty of Versailles, and at the time of the Peace Conference it took an active part in seeking to shape the course of American policy. In 1919 it appointed a committee on Mexican relations, and also initiated the publication of a series of documents throwing light on the problem of Soviet Russia. In June 1921 the Association urged President Harding to call a conference for the reduction of armaments. In February 1922 the F.P.A. Committee on the Permanent Court of International Justice presented a memorandum to the Secretary of

State which proved similar to the program of adherence to the Court later submitted by the Secretary to the President. In April of that year the Association presented to the State Department a brief signed by twenty-four nationally known lawyers, entitled "The Seizure of Haiti by the United States."

The first public luncheon of the F.P.A. was held in December 1918. In the spring of 1921 the first branch was started in Boston. The first News Bulletin was published in November 1921.

Policy of the Association

In 1922 a fundamental change took place in the work of the Association. After prolonged discussion the Board of Directors decided that the Association could perform its greatest service to the American public by placing its emphasis on education and research rather than on action. This policy has been reaffirmed in the present national emergency, since the Association believes that it can best perform constructive and timely public services by continuing to act as an independent source of information on international affairs. Its record, extending over the years, of unbiased inquiry and freedom of speech, is its best contribution to clear thinking in a period of stress. In its publications, program of popular education, radio broadcasts, and public meetings throughout the country, the Association is devoting attention to the immediate problems of national defense and American foreign policy. More particularly, it is emphasizing the prime importance of the study and discussion of factors entering into the character of the peace and plans for postwar reconstruction.

Aims of the Association

Today the Foreign Policy Association is governed by a constitution adopted on April 1, 1923 and amended in 1928. The object of the Association, as stated in the constitution, "is to carry on research and educational activities to aid in the understanding and constructive development of American foreign policy."

The work of the Association has two goals: thorough and objective research; and the diffusion of the results of such research to the members of the Association as well as to a much wider public—political and economic leaders, newspaper editors, universities and schools, labor and farm

groups, men in the armed services, in fact men and women in all walks of life who are interested in international affairs. The Association has undertaken the difficult task of combining the activities of both a research and a membership organization. It has endeavored to meet the most exacting standards of scholarship and, at the same time, to present the results of scholarship through a medium which appeals to the layman.

The pioneering work of the Foreign Policy Association has stimulated activity in many fields. The radio broadcasts of the luncheons, and the radio talks of the Chairman of the Association during its early years, from 1924 to 1933, were among the first organizational efforts to use the air for the discussion of international affairs. The Foreign Policy Association set the example, later followed by nearly every forum and club, of giving careful consideration to questions of international relations, so that in this respect we have today throughout the country an increasingly well-informed and thoughtful electorate. The Speakers Bureau of the Association, founded in 1924, helps not only our branches but other organizations to plan their programs on international affairs.

Cooperation with other groups While the Foreign Policy Association relies on its membership and branches as the principal outlets for its activities, it has emphasized its desire, particularly in recent years, to serve as a clearing house for other agencies interested in foreign policy and international affairs. Its educational and research facilities are at the disposal of any individual or group wanting to make use of them, and it is prepared to supply educational material and technical assistance to any public or private organization which desires it. Groups now using these services include business houses and industries with international interests, labor groups, women's organizations, Rotary Clubs, church groups, and the army orientation classes. The F.P.A. works closely also with the Council on Foreign Relations, the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, the International Relations Section of the National Y.W.C.A., the United Nations Information Service, the Cleveland

Council on World Affairs, the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, The Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, as well as various government agencies including the Office of War Information, the Office of Strategic Services, the Office of the Geographer of the State Department, the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, etc. Prior to the war the Foreign Policy Association maintained contacts with similar groups in countries now occupied, such as France, and it helped also to carry on the work of the Geneva Research Centre. The Association was also affiliated with the International Studies Conference through membership in the American Coordinating Committee.

Membership and Branches

The membership of the Association has shown continuous growth, but this indicates only partially the increasing influence of the Association, since the very wide indirect spread of its educational program must be borne in mind. Its Headline Books (now called Headline Series) and Foreign Policy Reports reach hundreds of thousands of students and of soldiers in schools, colleges and army camps, and are also used widely by newspapers in editorials and syndicated articles. The membership itself has risen from less than 1,000 before 1921 to over 19,000 at this time. More than half of this membership is found in our branches and affiliates. The devotion of the officers of each branch has made the work of the Foreign Policy Association effective on a wide scale. Today there are nineteen branches in the following cities: Albany, Atlanta, Baltimore, Bethlehem, Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Columbus, Detroit, Elmira, Hartford, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Providence, St. Paul, Springfield (Massachusetts), Utica, Worcester. Branches are now in process of being formed in Houston, New Orleans, Omaha, Rochester, and St. Louis. In addition, affiliates are located in Cleveland, Denver, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Spokane.

So that the Branches and National Headquarters in New York may keep in constant touch with one another and develop a program of discussion to suit the needs of the country, a Council of Branches was created in 1942, which

meets twice a year in New York. The branches of the Association carry on a number of activities, the most important of which are public meetings on international affairs. At each regular meeting of the Association, whether in New York or elsewhere, at least two points of view are presented. The discussions serve the fundamental purpose of presenting the pros and cons of international problems. These meetings are widely reported in the press, often even in foreign newspapers. During the past twenty-five years, the Foreign Policy Association has held in New York and its branches 2,086 meetings attended by 726,138 people.

Discussion Meetings

In addition to regular public discussions, the Foreign Policy Association in New York and the branches has sponsored many special meetings in order to carry discussion to all groups of our population. For the last three years a one-day forum has been held in New York at the opening of the autumn season to make a report to the citizens on the country's war and postwar efforts. These forums have drawn audiences of approximately twelve hundred members and delegates and include representatives of educational and church groups, business groups, banks, newspapermen, radio commentators, farm and labor groups and national men's and women's organizations. The President of the United States has sent a special message to each forum, and the speakers include distinguished members of our government as well as representatives of the United Nations. Recent speakers have been Lieutenant General Leslie McNair, Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Mr. Nelson Rockefeller, Senators Elbert D. Thomas and Warren R. Austin, Representatives Thomas H. Eliot and Joseph Clark Baldwin, Under Secretary of Agriculture Paul Appleby, Mr. Elmer Davis, Lord Halifax, and Mr. Luis Quintanilla, Minister from Mexico.

Annual Forum

In New York and some of the branch cities, private luncheons or dinners for distinguished Americans or foreign guests have been given from time to time. Among these guests have been Vice-President Wallace, Ambassadors Joseph Grew, Nelson Johnson, Arthur Bliss

Special Meetings

Lane, and William H. Standley, Mr. Herbert H. Lehman, Dr. Paul van Zeeland, Lord Hailey, Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, Mr. Charles van der Plas, Governor of Java, Mr. Walter Duranty, Mr. Herbert L. Matthews, Mr. Harold N. Denny, and Mr. Clark Lee.

For the last five years the Association has conducted for women, at luncheon uptown, a series of lectures on current world affairs. This year a new series of luncheon lectures has been organized by the Association in the downtown business district for younger business executives. In 1942 a series of lectures on foreign affairs was held at National Headquarters for leaders of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

In 1943 an Institute on Canadian-American Affairs was held in New York in cooperation with the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, when forty delegates came from Canada to participate in these meetings. There were round table discussions on problems of defense, economic relations, and the postwar period, and the subject of the luncheon meeting was "Alaska: North American Outpost."

The declaration of war stimulated many F.P.A. groups to find new types of audiences which were for the first time affected directly by our relation to foreign affairs. Neighborhood meetings have been arranged to take information to those who can no longer attend gatherings because of restrictions on the use of automobiles. Experiments have been made with popular public meetings for the families of men overseas, when films have been shown of the countries where Americans are stationed. One of our branches has held a series of three summer meetings on foreign affairs in a public park in the hope of reaching a new group.

Research Department The backbone of the activities of the Foreign Policy Association is its Research Department. The nucleus of this department was the Committee on Opium Traffic, organized in December 1922, which prepared a number of pamphlets. Its publications met with such favorable response that the Association was urged to expand this type of activity into other fields and, consequently in September 1923, the Research Department was established. The

original purpose of the department was to publish a series of *Editorial Information Bulletins,* the first of which, on the subject of the Locarno Security Conference, appeared on October 5, 1925. Through the generous support of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and subsequently of the Rockefeller Foundation, and also through funds provided by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the development of the Research Department has been made possible.

The Research Department is composed of a number of experts, each covering given fields of international relations. The purpose of the research work is to clarify the meaning of outstanding events, to analyze important pending issues and to discuss the foreign policy of the United States in relation to these problems. During the last three years special attention has been given to problems of postwar reconstruction, developments in the occupied countries of Europe, and the economic and political effect of total war in both hemispheres. In 1940 and 1941 a special department carried on research work in regard to Latin America and published a news sheet twice a month, entitled *Pan-American News.* This news sheet was discontinued when government and private agencies developed their work in this field.

Another special service connected with the Research Department is the information service of the Foreign Policy Association library, where thousands of questions in regard to international affairs are answered yearly for business firms with foreign interests, scholars, study groups, etc.

Research Publications The results of the research carried on by the Research Department are embodied in the weekly *Foreign Policy Bulletin* and the semi-monthly *Foreign Policy Reports.* So far as research is concerned, *Foreign Policy Reports* are the most important publication of the Association. Our contacts with correspondents throughout the world, as well as with government departments and foreign embassies in Washington, have given us access to material not readily available to private scholars. Each manuscript is read by several outside critics of varying points of view and is subjected to careful editing. As a result, *Foreign Policy Reports* have acquired an international reputation for accuracy

and timeliness and represent an important contribution to scholarship.

Although the *Reports* are designed to meet the needs of special groups, their circulation during the past eighteen years has been impressive. Between October 1925, when the first *Report* appeared, and October 1943, the Foreign Policy Association has published 458 *Reports* and the series as a whole constitutes a veritable encyclopedia of international affairs. In the last year alone, 226,000 copies of *Foreign Policy Reports* were circulated. But these studies are of more than academic importance. Several *Reports* have been translated this year by the Office of War Information for use in foreign countries. One group of business men ordered 20,000 copies of our recent report on "Reciprocal Trade Program and Postwar Reconstruction" for distribution among those interested in our foreign policy. A foreign Legation in Washington has just ordered 3,500 copies of a *Report* dealing with its country and has sent over half of these copies to its diplomatic representatives in Canada, England, Mexico and New Zealand.

Foreign Policy Reports are widely used in leading colleges and universities and often form an integral part of courses in political science and international affairs in such colleges and universities as Harvard, Columbia, Princeton, Michigan and Wisconsin. About 2,400 libraries and institutions subscribe to the Foreign Policy Association publications, as well as many schools throughout the country. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has made it possible for six hundred of its international relations clubs to receive the *Reports,* and the Council on Foreign Relations has given a year's subscription to the members of its Foreign Relations Committees in various parts of the country.

A selected list of editors in the United States receive the *Reports,* which frequently serve as a basis for editorial comment. The Washington correspondents of the leading papers, as well as the national news associations, such as the Associated Press and the United Press, frequently carry news dispatches on *Foreign Policy Reports.* A recent study of Nazi exploitation of occupied Europe received more than two hundred notices in the press. American correspondents abroad

have used the studies of the Research Department to keep in touch with events in other countries, while newspapers in Great Britain, India, Australia, South America and China have printed summaries of our studies or commented upon them in editorials.

Special Research Activities One of the Foreign Policy Association's most ambitious research projects was the survey of economic and social conditions in Cuba in 1934, undertaken at the request of the Cuban Government. In 1933 and 1934 the Association, in cooperation with the World Peace Foundation, organized three special committees of experts and leaders of opinion who prepared recommendations regarding the Pan American Conference at Montevideo, the Future of the Philippines, and Commercial Policy. These statements, published on the individual responsibility of the authors, attracted wide attention in the press. A recent project of the members of the research staff was the preparation, in cooperation with the United States Office of Education, of a United Nations Discussion Guide. Three hundred thousand copies were published by *Time, Newsweek,* and *The Reader's Digest* and distributed free throughout the United States and Canada to schools, colleges, women's clubs, farm groups, adult education councils and college war information centers. The United States Navy ordered 10,000 copies of this guide. Members of the research staff as well as Board members have

Radio Program participated in the regular programs of radio broadcasts which the Foreign Policy Association has carried on from time to time on a nation-wide distribution over the Blue Network. Another project on which the

Film Project research staff has worked, in cooperation with the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, is the script for an educational film on "Economic Relations Between South America and the United States." Members of the research staff from

Speaking Engagements time to time have addressed groups throughout the country who are interested in foreign affairs, such as national conventions of social workers, churchmen, librarians and educators, gatherings of industrial leaders, businessmen and credit managers, and students in the elementary grades up to and through university graduate

courses. They have reached a broad cross-section of the population through these open forums, club meetings and study groups.

Opium Research The only standing committee of the Board of Directors which deals with questions of policy is the Opium Research Committee. In addition to sponsoring a number of *Foreign Policy Reports,* this Committee has played an active part in assisting governments to reach decisions with respect to policies concerning opium, and similar matters of humanitarian interest. Outstanding among the activities of this Committee during the last five years are the preparation and joint publication with the Institute of Pacific Relations of "Japan and the Opium Menace," and sponsorship and presentation of a series of seminars in Washington, attended by representatives of interested Governments, on the opium problem in the Far East.

Washington Bureau The Washington Bureau, established in 1928, performs two functions: it serves as an outpost for the research staff in the collection of information on issues of American foreign policy; and it acts as a distributing center for our publications. The Bureau receives constant requests from Senators and Representatives for memoranda and documentary material on questions concerning American foreign policy and international relations. Contacts are maintained by the Bureau with officers of the State Department, who have been extremely helpful in assisting the educational and research work of the Association within the limitation imposed by their official positions. For many years the Division of Current Information in the State Department has kept a complete set of *Foreign Policy Reports* on file for the use of officers of the Department and newspaper correspondents.

Popular Education Department In the belief that much of the valuable work in the field of the social sciences was not reaching the general public, the Department of Popular Education was organized in 1935. Its purpose is to publish popular material on international affairs and to encourage discussion of such material among groups for which the existing research publications of the Association are too tech-

nical. With the aid of a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, and through the aid of funds from the Carnegie Corporation of New York for the general work of the Association, this Department has published a series of simply written and attractively illustrated *Hearline Books.* In the past eight years forty-one books have been issued, with a total distribution of almost 2,000,000 copies. Both the "War Atlas" and "The Struggle for World Order" have had a distribution of over 110,000 copies.

Publications

In the last few years the principal outlet for the use of *Headline Books* has been government and educational organizations. The War Department has ordered over 250,000 copies for use in the Army Orientation Courses and camps in foreign countries. The Navy is also using *Headline Books* in its Naval Training Schools and large quantities have been ordered by the Army Air Force Training Schools at various colleges. Literally hundreds of educational organizations and study groups throughout the country use *Headline Books* in their programs, and study outlines based on these books. The Popular Education Department of the Foreign Policy Association cooperated with the United States Office of Education in placing copies of *Headline Books* in college War Information Centers all over the country. Thousands of teachers are using them for classroom work and collateral reading. They are being used in the social science courses of the New York public school system, and one of the largest textbook publishers is distributing them to secondary schools and teachers' colleges throughout the country. *Headline Books* have been translated into Spanish for use in Latin America and into Braille for the blind. The first of a new series of pamphlets similar to *Headline Books* will be issued this autumn, which will bring information on world affairs to students of a slightly younger age grup.

Student Work

The Popular Education Department carries on the work with students, and special student forums are arranged for them in New York and in the branches in relation to the regular discussion meetings. In addition, college conferences and teachers' seminars are held under its auspices throughout the year.

Financial Support

The question is often asked how the Foreign Policy Association is supported. The Association has no endowment. Approximately one-half of its income is derived from membership dues, subscriptions and literature sales; the remainder is raised annually by contributions from generous members, friends, and Foundations interested in educational and research work. It is our earnest hope that this support may be continued so that in the coming critical years we may be able to develop our educational and research work as a public service of the first importance.

In 1938 the Association received its first bequest from the estate of the late Henry G. Barbey, a loyal member for many years. Through his thoughtful gift, as well as through a bequest from the estate of the late William Marburg, and special gifts from generous contributors, it has been possible to start a small Reserve Fund to insure a degree of financial stability for the Association. At this quarter century point in our history, we plan to augment this fund to a point where it will constitute an adequate revolving fund.

The record of its first twenty-five years indicates that the Association has contributed to the growth of this country's knowledge of international affairs. The success achieved by the Foreign Policy Association during this period has been due to the devoted attention given its numerous problems by the Board of Directors, the unflagging zeal of the branches, the steadfast and generous financial support of a number of individuals and foundations, the receptive attitude of its members and the general public, and the loyalty and competence of its staff. Their names are legion, but we shall give a few at the conclusion of this report—the members of the Board of Directors, of the National Council and of the staff, as well as the Chairmen of our Branches.

Acknowledgments

The work of education has only begun. We hope that in the next twenty-five years the Foreign Policy Association, by expanding activities and greater achievement, may help in the great opportunity of forming tomorrow's world.

GREETINGS ON TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

HONORABLE HENRY A. WALLACE, Vice President of the UNITED STATES: "For twenty-five years the F.P.A. has rendered continuous service to the cause of international understanding—to the cause of peace. When we build, as I hope we build, an organization to maintain an enduring peace, we shall still have need of organizations like the F.P.A. to keep us aware of our neighbor's problems."

HONORABLE CORDELL HULL, Secretary of State: "I am deeply appreciative of this opportunity to extend to the Foreign Policy Association, my warm congratulations upon its twenty-fifth anniversary.

"Your Association has wisely acted upon the assumption that a citizenry must always be well informed. Never in the history of the United States of America has there been a time when it was more necessary for every responsible citizen to have a clear understanding of the problems which are besetting the world and of the manner in which they effect his country. Organizations like yours are performing a highly patriotic duty when, in the midst of a global war, they encourage thoughtful consideration of world events. My wish is that the Foreign Policy Association may have a future as useful as its past."

HUBERT PIERLOT, BELGIAN Prime Minister: "The many activities of the F.P.A. are a precious contribution to the study of the complicated questions of foreign policy and are a tribute to its Directors. The Foreign Policy Reports are a guide to those who seek a better understanding of the foreign policy of the great American Democracy and its important rôle in the reconstruction of the post-war world. Thus the publication serves the purpose of its publishers. Its articles are not limited, however, to presenting the American point of view in foreign policy. I am glad to note the efforts of your 'Reports' in informing the American public of the position and work of the governments of invaded countries now established in London."

LUIS F. GUACHALLA, Ambassador of BOLIVIA to the United States: "During a quarter of a century the Foreign Policy Association has been devoted to the advancement of international under-

standing and a better knowledge of the problems affecting peace. Today when the need for the spreading of these ideas is more evident than ever in a war-torn world, it is proper and gratifying to congratulate the Association for rounding out twenty-five years of pioneer work in this field."

LORD HALIFAX, BRITISH Ambassador to the United States: "No effective foreign policy is possible unless it rests upon an informed public opinion, and for this reason I have always felt that the work of the Foreign Policy Association was of the utmost value. I hope that it will continue to carry out with distinction and success its various activities in the way of research and education."

SIR ARTHUR SALTER, BRITISH Ministry of War Transport: "For a quarter of a century the Foreign Policy Association, whose work I have frequently been privileged to see during that period, has rendered services of great benefit not only to America but the world in promoting the study of international affairs and making the results widely known."

W. L. MACKENZIE KING, Prime Minister of CANADA: "I wish to express to the Association my sincere appreciation of its long record of valuable service in research and educational activities in the field of foreign policy. The high level of its activities has been an important factor in helping to create an informed public opinion in its particular field.

"This war has shown us clearly the interdependence of nations. A better understanding of foreign policy is therefore essential, both to win this war and to achieve, after the war, a just and enduring peace."

JUAN ANTONIO RIOS, President of CHILE: "I am happy to send my warmest greetings to the Foreign Policy Association on the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary. The work accomplished by this distinguished Association during the past quarter century has been of the greatest service to those interested in the study and solution of international problems. Especially at this time is there needed the impartial and unbiased source of information represented by the Association. I hope you may have continued success in your future activities."

GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK, President of CHINA: "The fact is finding wider acceptance every day that good relations between nations as between individuals can endure only if they are based

upon a genuine understanding of each others position, difficulties and aspirations. Your association since its inception a quarter of a century ago has served with devotion the cause of human understanding and sympathy and deserves well of all people who, looking ahead, seek to create a happier world and lasting peace through international cooperation. The splendid accomplishment you have to your credit in the promotion of intelligent discussions of foreign affairs, of painstaking research in the field of international relations and the broad dissemination of useful information relating thereto are indeed factors in the crystallization of public sentiments helpful not only in the furtherance of the cause for which China, the United States and other United Nations are fighting, but also in the future solution of many vital postwar problems. On this 25th Anniversary of the founding of your association, I extend to you warm greetings coupled with best wishes for continued success in your fruitful labor."

DR. EDVARD BENES, President of CZECHOSLOVAKIA: "One of the prerequisites of a democratic diplomacy is that the majority of the people understands the nature and the manifold implications of international issues as fully, clearly, and with as little delay as possible. Your organization has been endeavoring for a quarter of a century to serve this purpose by popularizing the study of international problems among the American people. I gladly congratulate the Foreign Policy Association on its meritorious work and wish it continued success in the difficult but promising years ahead."

COLON ELOY ALFARO, Ambassador of ECUADOR to the United States: "Es muy placentero para mí expresar, con motivo del Vigésimo Quinto Aniversario de la fundación de la Foreign Policy Association, mi alto aprecio por el papel que esta Asociación ha venido desempeñando en conexión con la política exterior de los Estados Unidos.

He seguido con interés las diversas actividades de la Asociación y he visto cómo al mismo tiempo que sus investigaciones son valiosas fuentes de estudio para quienes están al frente de la dirección internacional, la amplia divulgación que sus publicaciones, radio-audiciones y discusiones públicas a través de los Estados Unidos han servido de mucho para lograr que la vida

internacional cuente con el debido respaldo en la opinión pública.

Hago fervientes votos porque el Vigésimo Quinto Aniversario de la Asociación sea el principio de una nueva era tan fructífera como la inicial."

MAHMOUD HASSAN, EGYPTIAN Minister to the United States: "The publications, radio programs, public discussions and research work of the Foreign Policy Association have broached, without bias, so many important political and educational problems that the general public here and in far away lands could only have greatly benefited.

"The primary duty of the press is to act as the medium of enlightenment of the public and the supervision of its rights and, thereby, enhance the understanding between peoples and their governments. This mission has been faithfully and untiringly discharged by the Foreign Policy Association."

ANDRÉ PHILIP, Membre du Comité FRANCAIS de la Libération Nationale: "A l'occasion du vingt cinquième anniversaire de votre Association, je vous exprime toute ma reconnaissance pour le travail d'éducation et d'information effectué. Je forme des voeux pour que vos efforts continuent à contribuer à l'amitié franco-américaine.

RAOUL AGLION, Counsellor of the Delegation to the United States, Comité FRANCAIS de la Libération Nationale: "I know of no other organization which, by its magnificent conferences and its renowned publications in the field of international education has rendered such a great service as that of the Foreign Policy Association. I have always admired the success of your chapters in all the large cities in the United States. I hope that you will continue your expansion and establish national groups in all the capitals of Europe. In doing so, you will enlighten the public opinion, promote mutual understanding and thus prepare the atmosphere in which a definite world peace can be built.

EMMANUEL TSOUDEROS, Prime Minister of GREECE: "The twenty-five years of the existence of the Foreign Policy Association have been most eventful ones. The problems of a world war just ended as you began your efforts and the even greater ones of the present world struggle require the enlightened consideration of responsible people. As America is destined to play a paramount rôle in the solution of these problems, your activities

in aiding in the understanding and constructive development of American foreign policy are a definite contribution to the cause of world peace and as such, deserving of general support."

GENERAL JORGE UBICO, President of GUATEMALA: "Experimento gran satisfacción al felicitar a la Foreign Policy Association en el vigésimo quinto aniversario de su fecunda vida. Es particularmente interesante para los pueblos de Hispano-América el funcionamiento de una entidad que desarrolla tan útil campaña de educación del público norteamericano sobre su posición internacional, y especialmente tan significada labor de acercamiento interamericano. Al educar al pueblo norteamericano en la cooperación y la amistad continental, la Foreign Policy Association presta un gran servicio a los Estados Unidos y a los pueblos de América."

GENERAL TIBURCIO CARIAS A., President of HONDURAS: "Por años la Foreign Policy Association de los Estados Unidos de América ha estado empeñada y ha dedica do sus mejores esfuerzos a una labor fructuosa de estudio e investigación de los asuntos públicos de mayor interés de América con el objeto de lograr, por medio de sus recursos científicos, el conocimiento y la comprensión de los problemas que cada país confronta, tanto en lo que atañe a su política interna como a sus proyecciones e influencia en la política internacional.

"El procedimiento seguido, de reuniones, conferencias y publicaciones, todo de profundo interés actual y técnico para la colectividad norteamericana ha tenido también su saludable repercusión en otros países. Como atento observador de tan importante movimiento y actividades, no tengo sino palabras de aliento y encomio para sus iniciadores y orientadores; y, con ocasión de la celebración del 25 Aniversario de su fundación, me place profundamente expresar mi enhorabuena más cordial a la Foreign Policy Association y a su eminente Presidente, Señor Frank Ross McCoy, con mis votos fervientes por su creciente éxito."

BJORN THORDARSON, Prime Minister of ICELAND: "The Anniversary of the Foreign Policy Association happens to synchronize with the renewed recognition of Iceland as a Sovereign State, and thus, as being a new and independent member of the family of nations, my country can, in common with the Foreign Policy Association, count its present international status from the close

of the first World War when such high hopes were entertained of the growth of the ideals of freedom, equality and fraternity, for which the Foreign Policy Association has continued to work with spoken as well as written word, thereby achieving benefits for different individuals and countries. Enlightenment is an essential condition of democracy and its spirit should also make itself felt in the intercourse between the various peoples. If the nations will seek to understand one another's needs and circumstances, and if big nations will bear in mind the well founded aspirations and legitimate interests of the other nations, it is reasonable to look forward to salutary and durable co-operation between them. That is one of the objects aimed at by the Foreign Policy Association and may its labors be crowned with success in the years to come."

G. S. BAJPAI, Agent General for INDIA to the United States: "The present war has been called a people's war. If the peace that is to follow the victory of the United Nations is to be a people's peace, the people must know what brought about the mighty struggle in which the United Nations are now engaged, and the conditions that would ensure a lasting peace. This presents a problem in education in world affairs which organized and enlightened leadership, impartial and objective in its survey of opinion and events, alone can solve. The Foreign Policy Association is doing fine work in providing such educative leadership. In the formative years ahead, may it achieve yet greater success in preparing the people of the U.S.A., through understanding and knowledge of world problems, for a wise judgment as to their own contribution to the peace and prosperity of the world."

EAMON DE VALERA, Prime Minister of the IRISH FREE STATE: "Organizations like the Foreign Policy Association are of special importance in these times. In democratic countries foreign policy is determined by public opinion, while the formation of a just public opinion, such as will inspire policy making for a stable international order, depends on careful ascertainment of all relevant facts and on their faithful objective presentation. In this field of research and education the Foreign Policy Association has acquitted itself admirably."

PIERRE DUPONG, President of the LUXEMBOURG Government: "Thanks to the relentless activity of the Foreign Policy Asso-

ciation's study groups, through its research publications, radio programs and public discussions, the Association has succeeded in awakening wide interest and understanding of the foreign policy of their country, among the popular masses of America.

"It has been for too long an accredited and accepted belief that foreign policy is and has to be a closed book for the common people, and reserved as the right of a few specialists. There is no need to stress how wrong is this conception and how unworthy of a free self-governing nation.

"I cannot but congratulate your Association for what it has done so far and encourage it to continue the good fight for a true democratic conception of foreign policy."

GENERAL MANUEL AVILA CAMACHO, President of MEXICO: "Enterado de que el próximo 16 de octubre la 'Foreign Policy Association' celebrará el 25° aniversario de su fundación, deseo expresar a usted —y, por su digno conducto, a los demás miembros de tan importante agrupación— mi cordial enhorabuena por la generosa obra que han realizado en favor de un conocimiento cada día más eficaz y más hondo de los problemas que plantea a nuestros países la necesidad de organizar una convivencia fundada en la independencia y en la justicia.

"Tengo la convicción de que cuanto más se divulgue entre nuestros pueblos la doctrina de la colaboración internacional, sin otras restricciones que las que naturalmente deriven de la incapacidad de cooperar con los regímenes sustentados en la dictadura y en la violencia, mayores serán nuestras posibilidades de aportación a la civilización y al progreso humanos.

"En tal virtud, felicito a ustedes por el esfuerzo desarrollado y hago votos por que las actividades que han mantenido con ejemplar perseverancia continúen en lo futuro dentro de los mismos cauces de inteligencia y de democrática persuasión."

P. S. GERBRANDY, Prime Minister of THE NETHERLANDS: "The twenty-fifth anniversary of the Foreign Policy Association is an important milestone in the development of objective study of foreign relations. The foreign relations of a country have been perhaps too much a matter of which the great mass of the population knew little, and often understood less, not from lack of intelligence but from the dearth of accurate information. Foreign relations went on behind a veil of secrecy disquieting to friends of real democracy. The Foreign Policy Association

has done a work of the greatest value in supplying the foundation for the intelligent understanding and development of foreign policy. Its numerous publications have provided what was most necessary, accurate and impartial information. Speaking from the Netherlands viewpoint we have every reason to be pleased with the stimulating pamphlet entitled, 'The Netherlands Indies at War', issued by the Association. It surveys the defense preparations of the East Indies and the effects of the conflict on trade with the United States. Towards the construction of a better postwar world, institutions like the Foreign Policy Association do work deserving of our appreciation and interest. It is to be hoped that the Association will continue to develop in the same splendid way in which it has for the first twenty-five years."

WALTER NASH, Minister of NEW ZEALAND to the United States: "Since its inception twenty-five years ago the Foreign Policy Association by its bulletins and reports and particularly by its presentation of informed speakers to United States audiences has made a major contribution to an intelligent understanding of international relations. The world needs the facts and their interpretation by informed and able minds. These facts and their interpretation of them are the essential imperatives for now and the next decade. I hope that your Association will continue and extend its open forum policy so that the aspirations of the peoples of Russia, Britain, China, the older small European nations, and the younger democracies together with those of the United States, may be known to the world and that the growth of knowledge of all peoples may lead to the abolition of war and a permanent organization for all nations."

TRYGVE LIE, NORWEGIAN Minister of Foreign Affairs: "The Foreign Policy Association has always endeavored during the twenty-five years of its existence to present the truth and the facts of foreign political problems in an objective way. This goal it has attained and I am confident that its endeavors will always be concentrated in the same direction. In the times we are now passing through, when Democracy is once more repelling the onslaughts made on it by gangster nations, it seems more and more clear that the word democracy must be understood also in a new sense: That between sovereign states, great and small, there should be real democracy so that the interests, the rights

and the honor of the smaller states are maintained in the same way as those of the big powers. Institutions such as the Foreign Policy Association, which are always endeavoring to place before the public the facts and the truth of every case will prove to be of the greatest service to the Community of Nations in the building up of International Democracy."

DR. MANUEL PRADO, President of PERU: "He seguido con vivo interés la importante obra que durante veinticinco años ha realizado la Foreign Policy Association en su labor para una mejor comprensión de los pueblos americanos entre si y una efectiva cimentación de sus relaciones sobre las verdaderas bases en que reposan los altos principios del Derecho Internacional. Al celebrar su vigésimo quinto aniversario en momentos en que los pueblos luchan por devolver al Mundo el goce de sus libertades y en que el Perú se halla intimamente vinculado al esfuerzo bélico de los Estados Unidos, envío a la Foreign Policy Association mis más fervientes votos para que vea coronada en la forma más auspiciosa la noble tarea en que está empeñada."

MANUEL L. QUEZON, President of the PHILIPPINES: "I have long been familiar with the work of the Foreign Policy Association which has contributed much to the clarification of American thought on world affairs. The Association's activities through its radio programs, its publications and its meetings have been conducted on a high plane of knowledge and intelligence. I am sure that the Association will play an even more important rôle in helping America to steer a wise course through the complexities that lie ahead."

ISMET INONU, President of TURKEY: "In extending to the Foreign Policy Association my sincere congratulations I express the wish that the future activity of this center of important research and publication, whose able and interesting reports I read regularly, may continue to be as fruitful as it has been in the past."

MILOSH TRIFUNOVICH, Prime Minister of YUGOSLAVIA: "It is with great pleasure I learned that the Foreign Policy Association has achieved its twenty-five years of extensive activity in the field of foreign policy and of close collaboration among the students who direct their interests to international questions. Your research publication, assemblies and discussions provoked great interest among such students in Yugoslavia, and I, myself, being

one of them, wish to stress how useful and important was the work of your Association. I wish you further success."

RAY ATHERTON, Minister to Canada: "Throughout my many years in the Foreign Service of the United States and in the Department of State I have come into constant contact with the work of the Foreign Policy Association. I have admired it, and I have found it most useful, by reason both of the impartiality of its scholarship and of the broad and illuminating studies which that scholarship produces."

WARREN R. AUSTIN, U. S. Senator from Vermont: "I congratulate the Foreign Policy Association for its twenty-five years of devoted service to the cause of better understanding among our people of world politics, economy and sociology. It has made progress notwithstanding the introvert tendency of the United States succeeding World War I. The commencement of its next quarter century is vitalized by opportunity afforded by World War II to unfold endless possibilities in amelioration of hardships and uplifting of standards of belief and action among the nations of the world."

JOSEPH CLARK BALDWIN, Member of Congress: "I think the splendid record of the F.P.A. speaks for itself. But as one of its many friends and admirers in public office to whom it has been directly helpful I want to add my word of greeting and commendation, and a long and continually useful life to this splendid organization."

COLONEL HERMAN BEUKEMA, Director, Army Specialized Training Division: "The Foreign Policy Association was launched at an hour when thinking men began to turn their minds to the problem of rebuilding a broken world. If the hard-won fruits of victory were to be lasting, foreknowledge and understanding were needed. In many respects the picture we face now is not unlike that of FPA's natal day. Victory is again in sight. The need for nation-wide objective thought in the field of international affairs has become a first requirement. That requirement can be met only through a process of continuous education. FPA's role in the critical years ahead is clear. What it has done in the field of research and discussion must continue. It must permeate the soil of American thought with the inescapable truths on which our national policies should be grounded."

THE HONORABLE FRANCIS BIDDLE, Attorney General: "The Foreign Policy Association was organized to carry on research and educational activities in this country to aid in the understanding of American foreign policy. Branches were formed throughout the country and discussions of foreign policies were held by the various branches. Research work was also done and much of the material used by newspapers and magazines. An attempt was consistently carried out to give both sides in the discussions and I believe that the work has been objective and enlightening. I am convinced that as a result the American public today are far better informed on problems of American foreign policy throughout the world; and more intelligent in their understanding of the complex social and economic problems of other countries which necessarily affect our own policy."

GEORGE H. BLAKESLEE, Division of Political Studies, Department of State: "During this past quarter of a century the Association has taken an increasingly important part in enlightening the thoughtful elements of our people in regard to the problems and issues of American foreign affairs. In the world of tomorrow the happiness and prosperity of America will depend in a larger measure than before on satisfactory relations with the other countries of the world. These relations will be determined in large part by public opinion, and no organization gives greater promise than the Foreign Policy Association of informing that opinion and directing it into wise channels."

JAMES F. BYRNES, Director, Office of War Mobilization: "The Foreign Policy Association has rendered truly significant service in promoting among our people a better understanding of world events, upon which the constructive development of American foreign policy must depend. But the task which the Association has set for itself is by no means completed. In the years ahead it will be more important than ever that the American people understand the course of world affairs, from which they now know they can never again be isolated."

JOSEPH E. DAVIES, Chairman, President's War Relief Control Board: "The work of the Foreign Policy Association has been painstaking, able. It has been definitely of substantial value in formulating public opinion on Foreign Relations of the United States. The future holds for it still greater potentialities for service. This is so, because our whole American public must become,

and is fast becoming, increasingly 'Foreign Policy Conscious.' Self-protection, indeed our existence, depends upon the extent to which our people understand the problems and exercise their responsibilities in creating and sustaining a national Foreign Policy. I am sure that the Foreign Policy Association will continue to be of extraordinary service in informing and creating the public opinion and policy of our country."

CHARLES EDISON, Governor of New Jersey: "In the quarter of a century since the Foreign Policy Association was established, the American people have developed somewhat more interest in international affairs than they had in the years before World War I. For the awakened interest of the American people the Foreign Policy Association deserves part of the credit, and in the years ahead I hope it will continue to aid in the understanding and development of a constructive American foreign policy."

JOSEPH C. GREW, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State: "The coming Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Foreign Policy Association will be an important event in the life of an organization which has contributed much to the instruction and to the incisive thinking of our people on the subject of international relationships. In developing and intelligently guiding the thinking of our people, various public spirited organizations have played and are playing an important part. Few, if any, of these organizations have more effectively stimulated this public thinking over a long period of years than the Foreign Policy Association, and I heartily congratulate the Association in passing this important milestone after a quarter of a century of enlightened and constructive effort."

ERNEST GRUENING, Governor of Alaska: "For a quarter of a century the Foreign Policy Association has played an important part in enlightening American public opinion on matters of foreign policy. The role of such an organization is perpetually valuable. The Association has, since the conclusion of the first World War, enabled our citizens to learn the facts about men, events and trends abroad. It has made possible the further illumination of those facts by the discussion and intellectual controversy so necessary to the maintenance of our free institutions."

STANLEY K. HORNBECK, Adviser on Political Relations, Department of State: "It is axiomatic that in a democracy, especially a democracy such as ours, there must exist an intelligent, well in-

formed and thoughtful citizenry. In applying our theory and practice of freedom of thought, of speech, and of belief, the people of this country employ and encourage many means and instruments of education, of dissemination of fact and of opinion, of discussion and of decision. It has been my privilege to have observed closely from its very beginning the work of the Foreign Policy Association, activities of its staff, the creation and development of its branches, and its published output. I have found stimulating, in most part, even those utterances with which I do not agree, and I am definitely of the opinion that the Association has been and is rendering valuable service in the field of private contribution to the processes and procedures by which the nation comes to conclusions and expresses itself. I offer my best wishes for long years of useful effort in the difficult period that lies ahead."

MANLEY O. HUDSON, Judge, Permanent Court of International Justice: "Two developments stand out significantly to any student of our international relations over the period of the past forty years. First, that there is today a much wider interest in our current international problems, and second, that the formulation of government policy with respect to these problems is more responsive to the popular will. Both of these changes have come about largely because of the activities of such organizations as the Foreign Policy Association. If we are to have any measure of democratic control of our relations with other peoples of the world, large numbers of Americans must have access to the facts and must know how to appraise them. The record of the F.P.A. in meeting these needs entitles it to be classified as an essential service."

NELSON JOHNSON, American Minister to Australia: "I am one of those who believe that the Foreign Policy Association during these twenty-five years has served a very useful purpose in the United States, in helping to make our people conscious of the world in which they live as a nation. I have no doubt that the Foreign Policy Association, through its own researches and publications, and through its subsidiary groups scattered throughout the United States, has contributed much toward opening the minds of this generation of Americans to the world and its problems; and I think that they are the better for this. Our minds are at least not closed."

JESSE JONES, Secretary of Commerce: "In carrying on its research and educational activities the Foreign Policy Association undoubtedly has materially aided in the understanding and constructive development of United States foreign policy. At this critical period, and during the next few years, the Association will have even greater opportunities than heretofore to render a public service in making available to the people carefully analyzed information on international problems."

F. H. LA GUARDIA, Mayor of the City of New York: "After we have been victorious in this war, it will be more important than ever to establish and maintain a well-conceived, sensible foreign policy in America. Because of the great strides in aviation, the world is smaller, and the most distant outposts of civilization are now inhabited by virtual neighbors. Thus, it becomes a matter of the greatest moment to educate and guide the public into channels of clear thinking and I sincerely hope that the Foreign Policy Association will continue its activities in the fields of research and education designed to aid in the constructive development of a successful American foreign policy."

OWEN LATTIMORE, Director of Pacific Operations, Office of War Information: "The first twenty-five years of the activity of the Foreign Policy Association are a proof of the importance of the FPA in the intellectual life of America. The rapidity and complexity of the development of contemporary world problems, the increasing importance of America in shaping world events and the increasingly direct impact of world events on American life all prove that the work of the Foreign Policy Association is of greater importance than ever before."

HERBERT H. LEHMAN, Director, Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations: "It is my hope that the good work of the Foreign Policy Association carried on in research and educational activities to create understanding of our relations with peoples of other lands will be continued with unabated interest and determination in the troubled years which lie ahead for all of us. There is much to be done today while the war is still in progress in informing our people of their numerous social and economic ties with the suffering people of Europe and Asia. When final victory is obtained, to build the lasting peace we all desire we must continue to strive for the widest possible recognition on the part of Americans of the identity of their

national interest with the development of freedom and security amongst peoples beyond our national borders."

MILDRED H. MCAFEE, Director, Women's Reserve, USNR: "An accurate interpretation of our American foreign policy is indispensable in a nation which demands intelligent, well-informed action of its citizens. In the past twenty-five years, the Foreign Policy Association has admirably rendered such service through its presentation of penetrating discussions and analyses of world events."

GEORGE S. MESSERSMITH, American Ambassador to Mexico: "I have found the publications of the Foreign Policy Association to be of very real value and I believe that they have been, together with the work of the Association in general, a very important factor in keeping our public opinion informed as to developments in the world picture."

HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR., Secretary of the Treasury: "During the past twenty-five years the Foreign Policy Association has come to play an important role in American life. At the end of the last war there was crying need to increase the interest and understanding of Americans in international affairs. This the Foreign Policy Association has done admirably through its publications, as well as its weekly radio broadcasts and discussion luncheons. If the American people today are much more alive to international affairs than they were twenty-five years ago—and I certainly think that they are—this achievement is in no small measure due to the research and educational work your organization has conducted."

WILLIAM PHILLIPS, Personal Representative of The President at New Delhi, India: "During its twenty-five years of service the Foreign Policy Association has become a national institution which through its widespread activities exercises a growing influence on the development of our foreign policy. Already it plays an important role in our national life, and I foresee that in the years to come its influence will continue to spread and so to develop a true understanding of America's relationship to and responsibilities in world affairs."

FRANCES PERKINS, Secretary of Labor: "The Foreign Policy Association is to be congratulated upon the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary. Since its organization it has carried on successfully a program of educational activity which has been of high value

to the American public and to the American Government. I join with many others in wishing the Association a long extended period of its patriotic, constructive and worth while activities."

NICHOLAS ROOSEVELT, Deputy Director, Office of War Information: "The F.P.A. is the only organization which has consistently endeavored to stimulate widespread popular interest in foreign affairs. It has done this without partisanship and at the same time has managed to work out a formula through which technical international problems have been presented in simple and non-technical form. This in itself is a unique achievement. As the war draws to a close and the problems of peace become uppermost, the Foreign Policy Association will have a new opportunity to enlarge the scope and influence of its work."

L. S. ROWE, Director General, Pan American Union: "During this critical period in the history of our country, since 1918, the Foreign Policy Association has carried on a campaign of public education of which it has every reason to feel proud. The fact that the people of the United States have been brought to a better appreciation of our position in world affairs is due in large measure to the educational work undertaken by it. In the field of inter-American relations its publications have been of the highest order as is attested by their wide use in schools, colleges, and universities. Important as your work has been in the past, it is certain to be of even greater importance during the critical years ahead of us. Upon the formulation of a sound foreign policy by the people of the United States will depend in large measure the future of Western civilization."

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Governor of Massachusetts: "The Foreign Policy Association has done our country great service. Better understanding of world issues is the surest approach to adoption of the soundest policies. Never was there greater need for still wider understanding of the great issues which must be decided in the years ahead."

FRANCIS B. SAYRE, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State: "The hope of the world today lies in increased and truer human brotherhood; and this waits upon a more adequate understanding of alien peoples by every race and nation. For twenty-five years the Foreign Policy Association within our own country has sought with singular devotion and intelligence to achieve

this aim. The large measure of success which has attended its efforts has proved it one of the constructive forces for the kind of peace which we all desire."

ADMIRAL WILLIAM H. STANDLEY, American Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.: "At no time during the history of our country has the development of a sound continuing foreign policy and its complete understanding on the part of our people been so important as it is today. In truth in my opinion the future of civilization depends upon the existence of these two conditions. As a member of the Foreign Policy Association I am familiar with the work it has done and is doing to bring to fruition these necessary requisites to unity of effort and purpose in the field of foreign representation of the United States."

J. W. STUDEBAKER, Commissioner, U. S. Office of Education: "It is my considered judgment that no organization in America has made a more constructive contribution to the development of an informed public opinion on matters of foreign policy than has the Foreign Policy Association during the twenty-five years of its existence. I am hopeful that the activities of the Association will be richly fructified in an active support by the American people of a program of international collaboration at the end of this war."

ARTHUR SWEETSER, Special Deputy, Office of War Information: "The Foreign Policy Association's first quarter century has covered the most critical period in America's relationship with the outside world. The increase in America's knowledge of foreign affairs during this period has been prodigious. No comparison can be made between the practical, realistic, and sober attitude of today, when the country is working out of World War Two, and the uninformed, immature and largely emotional attitude of twenty years ago, when the country was working out of World War I. The Foreign Policy Association is entitled to a double share of the credit for this change. It is one of the oldest, and has always been one of the best, agencies of public education in this field. Few equal it in either respect. It has shown originality and skill in adapting itself to the many startling changes and reverses; has developed an impeccable standard of scholarship and presentation; and has always been just enough ahead of public opinion to encourage it onwards."

JAMES W. WADSWORTH, Member of Congress: "In recent years, and

especially during the present war, it has become more and more apparent that events in Europe, Asia and Africa may have a profound effect upon the peace and happiness of our people, whether we like it or not. For our own protection and that of our children we should come to understand these things and, understanding them, take a position in the international field helpful to ourselves and to the rest of the world. The efforts of the Foreign Policy Association are, in my judgment, exceedingly valuable and it is to be hoped will be continued to the end that we shall all achieve a better understanding of the world we live in."

EDWARD WARNER, Vice-Chairman, Civil Aeronautics Board: "I have just realized that the Association is nearing the completion of its twenty-fifth year of service to the American people and contribution to the development of a foreign policy based on wide popular understanding. It seems longer,—for the Foreign Policy Association seems a permanent and indispensable part of the American scene. Never has it been so important as now, when we have to consider the form that peace and post-war arrangements will take, that there be popular enlightenment and popular discussion on the true location of our interests and on the conditions that should determine our relation to the world beyond American borders. The Association's opportunities, and the need for its work, are correspondingly great."

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, President, Columbia University: "During the last twenty-five busy and fateful years the Foreign Policy Association has been a constructive and instructive force in stimulating and guiding American public opinion. In these years of American leadership and responsibility and in those which are so soon to come, it is to American public opinion that the world must look for constructive leadership in framing and administering a world organization of cooperating nations to restore and to protect international peace. May the Foreign Policy Association continue through the coming years its policy of broad-minded and liberal intellectual leadership."

BEN M. CHERRINGTON, Director, Foundation for the Advancement of the Social Sciences, University of Denver: "I believe most of your readers will agree with me that in the last twenty-five years the Foreign Policy Association has been the most helpful

single agency devoted to a scholarly and at the same time popular interpretation of international events and problems."

ADA L. COMSTOCK, President, Radcliffe College: "It is hard to estimate the exact effect of activities such as those carried on by the Foreign Policy Association. Public opinion has certainly become more informed and discerning since 1918, however; and no can doubt that the F.P.A. has played a valuable part in this process. Its publications and its speaking programs have a high reputation for accuracy and interest. Sometimes the celebration of an anniversary suggests the end of a period of usefulness. In this instance, the period ahead clearly offers the Association even greater opportunities than it has had in the past."

HAROLD W. DODDS, President, Princeton University: "In the twenty-five years of its existence, the Foreign Policy Association has made for itself a permanent place in our national life. Its officers and staff have labored tirelessly to bring before the American people the realities of our world position. Their work represents a nice balance between research and public education. Such work will inevitably assume even greater importance in the period of victory and world reconstruction that lies ahead."

HARRY L. GIDEONSE, President, Brooklyn College: "For many years interest in American foreign policy has been an exotic luxury for the elite, but the F.P.A. has labored successfully for a generation to make it an ingredient of the average standard of living. If America is ready to carry its full share in the international community, much of the credit is due to its able and diversified program of research and adult education. The F.P.A. was important when America was an observer, but now that America has become a participant, the F.P.A. as a broker of ideas and facts will be indispensable."

VIRGINIA C. GILDERSLEEVE, Dean, Barnard College: "The Foreign Policy Association has done a great work during this last quarter century. Now that the fate of the world depends so largely and obviously on the state of public opinion in this country, it must be a great satisfaction to the Association to realize how much it has contributed to the sound education of this public opinion on all matters of foreign policy."

HALFORD L. HOSKINS, Dean, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy: "Such errors and mistaken attitudes as have marred our foreign policy during the last twenty-five years would have been the

more serious and our national adjustment to the problems of the present war the more difficult but for the intelligent work of the Foreign Policy Association. It is important that the Association continue with its educational work. We shall need to build on this foundation in establishing the post-war order."

ALVIN JOHNSON, Director, The New School for Social Research: "I was one of those who had the privilege of attending the informal meetings that resulted in the founding of the F.P.A. The period was one of widespread concern over international issues, but dearth of realistic information and clear opinion on any of those issues. Those who have followed the patient, energetic, systematic efforts of the Association to bring a sound knowledge of international affairs to an ever widening public will conclude with me that if our nation is infinitely better equipped intellectually than in 1918 for coping with the international problems pressing upon us, this fact is in large measure due to the magnificent work of the F.P.A."

ROBERT A. MILLIKAN, Chairman, Executive Council, California Institute of Technology: "I would like to congratulate the F.P.A. on the constructive work it has done in the last twenty-five years on one of the very most important problems that is now confronting the American people, namely, public education with respect to the role which the United States must play from now on in world affairs. The job of awakening American public opinion to the opportunities and responsibilities which lie before us is one the importance of which can scarcely be overestimated."

CHARLES SEYMOUR, President, Yale University: "The march of events has compelled the United States to play a leading part in affairs that touch the entire world. If as a democracy the nation is to play that part worthily and establish a wise and consistent foreign policy our people must be educated to understand the facts and significance of foreign affairs. In this process of education the F.P.A. has assumed a position of outstanding leadership. Continuation of such service will be an important factor in guiding American destinies in the difficult days ahead. The F.P.A. has earned the gratitude of the nation."

QUINCY WRIGHT, The University of Chicago: "I have been a member of the F.P.A. from the beginning and have read its publications more fully than I have those of any other association. It

has maintained a high standard of scholarship together with journalistic understanding of what is pertinent at the moment. In the days ahead the country will continue to look for accurate information and sound analysis to the publications and discussions of the F.P.A., and I am sure they will not be disappointed."

RAY LYMAN WILBUR, Chancellor, Stanford University: "This is a very important period for the continuance at a high level of the activities of the Foreign Policy Association. Its twenty-five years of service can count more now than ever before since we are involved more each day in all sorts of so-called foreign problems. As one looks back over a quarter of a century, one can realize how significant the work of the Association has been for that period. There is no measuring stick for the development of policies but we do know that research and education must be the background if substantial and dependable progress can be made."

WINTHROP W. ALDRICH, Chairman of the Board, Chase National Bank: "The work of the Foreign Policy Association through the years has stimulated the thinking of our people on problems of foreign relations and has contributed greatly toward the formation of sound policy. The opportunities before the Association are obviously greater today than ever before. The policies followed by this country now in the field of foreign relations are vital in the construction of a lasting peace.

JAMES R. ANGELL, President, The English Speaking Union: "There can be only one opinion among those who know as to the great importance of the work which the Foreign Policy Association has carried on. It has combined sound scholarship with extremely skillful public education upon issues which are of the first consequence for the nation."

HANSON W. BALDWIN, Military Editor of *The New York Times:* "It seems to me that the Foreign Policy Association fulfills a very real need in this country by fostering public discussions, and private studies, of all aspects of international affairs. Its research studies are a model of their kind—objective, thorough, and complete, and I find them a great help in my work."

FRANK S. BAYLEY, President, National Council, Young Men's Christian Association: "The present world situation confirms the

foresight and wisdom of those who initiated the organization of the Foreign Policy Association and the able program now being carried on evidences the continuance of intelligence and ability on the part of those now in charge."

MRS. AUGUST BELMONT: "We are fortunate indeed to have the wise and experienced leaders of the Foreign Policy Association to interpret the significance of world events to us in an unprejudiced way, and to keep us in touch with happenings and trends that would escape the attention of all but the really well informed expert.

"It becomes increasingly evident, even to the most reluctant observer, that the United States must assume her share of responsibility for the future peace of the world. Therefore, knowledge, on the part of our citizens, of foreign events and policies will be of paramount importance, and we will need the assistance of the F.P.A. even more in the next twenty-five years than we have in the past. May your membership and your service expand to meet the need."

MRS. SIDNEY C. BORG: "To the Foreign Policy Association belongs rightfully the credit for awakening and stimulating the interest of the public in world affairs. Its weekly luncheons with outstanding speakers, and the free discussions, developed great understanding of international matters, and emphasized America's place in the picture. To your excellent pamphlets, the radio and other media which you employed, can be ascribed a wide influence on public education in many areas."

FRANK G. BOUDREAU, President, League of Nations Association, Inc.: "In a democracy like ours intelligent direction of foreign affairs must be based on broad public understanding of the issues involved. To this understanding the Foreign Policy Association has greatly contributed by its wise program of research and educational activities. Unbiased, meticulously correct and yet pleasantly readable, its publications have helped to develop American foreign policy constructively by the creation of an informed and alert public opinion."

JAMES S. CARSON, Chairman, Education Committee, National Foreign Trade Council, Inc.: "Look back twenty-five years and perhaps you will recall, as I do, that the thinking habits of most acquaintances seldom visioned fields beyond the borders of the U.S.A. When the broader outlook was taken, lack of informa-

tion resulted in conclusions sometimes grotesquely inaccurate. Today the whole concept of foreign affairs is changing. There is a fairly well informed public opinion on international relations and their meaning and significance to our domestic well-being. Many things have contributed to this, but not the least of them has been the wonderful educational work of the F.P.A."

EDWARD C. CARTER, Secretary-General, Institute of Pacific Relations: "For tens of thousands of Americans the Foreign Policy Association's luncheon forums have opened new windows. To tens of thousands more its radio programs, pamphlets, and research reports have given authentic, up the minute data on current problems around the world.

"In its chosen field, the Foreign Policy Association has rendered a distinguished service to the American people for a quarter of a century. Its cogent factual analyses of international affairs were never more needed than today."

SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT, General Secretary, The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America: "I am confident that I speak for a great number of colleagues in all the churches of our constituency when I say that the Foreign Policy Association has put us very deeply in its debt by the constructive educational work which it has done in the field of international relations. We have found its publications invaluable in our own work and have been constantly aware of the enlightening influence of its whole program upon the thinking of the American people."

VISCOUNT CECIL: "Best wishes for a continued success of valuable work done by Foreign Policy Association."

HENRY SLOANE COFFIN, Moderator, The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.: "The Foreign Policy Association's publications have always been of the highest order, reliable, informing and well written. Its meetings and radio programs have commanded outstanding speakers and have attempted to present various views so that the Association has been free from partisanship. At the same time it has constantly faced the nation with its obligations to other lands and kept its discussions on a high moral level. For this the Church public must be especially grateful. There are few factors which have contributed as much to enlightening public opinion and stimulated the conscience of our people to think and act in accordance with knowledge.

"Never was the service of your Association more urgently

needed than in the years when momentous decisions must be made. May the Association go on from strength to strength."

J. B. COYNE, President, Canadian Institute of International Affairs: "The twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Foreign Policy Association gives to the Canadian Institute of International Affairs an opportunity of expressing its admiration for the great work your association has accomplished during this period. We know that your association has carried on independent and dispassionate investigation of American and world affairs and has given objective and accurate presentation of the facts, thereby enabling popular intelligence to function. Your direct objective has been, of course, to bring this knowledge and its understanding primarily to the people of the United States to help them in comprehending American foreign policy throughout its history and now, and in furthering its constructive growth. But the benefits of your work have not been limited to your own country and this again has been to its further advantage."

JOHN W. DAVIS: "It seems impossible that twenty-five years have passed since the founding of the Association in 1918. During that period of time the organization has carried on intelligent, constructive and worthwhile activities for the promotion and betterment of our foreign policy. The Association has endeavored with success to awaken the American citizenry to the need for a knowledge of international affairs and for a definite foreign policy."

NORMAN H. DAVIS, President, Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.: "The increased knowledge of the people of the United States concerning international affairs is in no small measure due to the work of popular education which the Foreign Policy Association has carried forward with such persistence and skill. I hope that your work can continue in the days which lie ahead when the relations of the United States with the rest of the world will increase in extent and complexity. A sound foreign policy in a democracy can be sustained only through a well-informed electorate."

MRS. HENRY P. DAVISON: "The Foreign Policy of this country has been a matter of grave concern to many of its citizens and the F.P.A. has helped to develop an intelligent point of view

through research publications, study groups, public discussions and radio programs. We are all much indebted to it."

HAROLD DENNY, *The New York Times:* "I have found the F.P.A. reports invaluable even in fields which I knew intimately, because of their studious and thorough, though compact, assemblage of background and documentation. The work of the Foreign Policy Association is indispensable to any one who wishes a clear, accurate, comprehensive and balanced view of foreign affairs—and what intelligent person does not nowadays?"

STEPHEN DUGGAN, Director, Institute of International Education: "I consider the work of the Foreign Policy Association during the past twenty-five years the finest instance of democratic organization we have in the education of the American people in foreign affairs. The Foreign Policy Association is a university whose campus is the whole United States, whose students are the intelligent people of the United States, and whose methods of teaching are the most progressive and efficient in the field of adult education. It has attained great accomplishment in the past quarter century. It is destined to make an even greater one in the future."

JOHN FOSTER DULLES: "I have closely followed the work of the Foreign Policy Association since it was a year old. It has performed an outstanding service in educating Americans about international affairs. This is indispensable if a democracy is to achieve a sound foreign policy. It is not a task that can be performed quickly, nor is it a task that is ever finished. It calls for steady, honest and usually unspectacular work over the years. To this the Foreign Policy Association set its hand twenty-five years ago and it has not turned back. It has now established itself as a great American institution that must carry on."

GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT, *New York Herald Tribune:* "In these trying times, when the people of the United States are faced with what is perhaps the most serious decision in their history, your Association is performing a task of vital importance in spreading throughout the country, by means of your radio programs and your discussion groups as well as by the printed word, impartial and accurate information concerning the foreign relations of the United States, the politico-military problems of this war and the no less vital problems of the peace which must follow victory. I can conceive of no more vital service to the

nation than that which your Association is thus so highly performing."

MARSHALL FIELD: "I have known at first hand of the many valuable contributions of the Foreign Policy Association to our knowledge and understanding of foreign relations. Long may it flourish!"

HARRY E. FOSDICK, Minister, The Riverside Church: "The Foreign Policy Association has maintained a very high standard of public discussion on the most important issues before the world today. Its past achievements, however, ought to be only preparatory to a still larger service in these desperately critical years ahead."

MRS. GEORGE GELLHORN, St. Louis: "It is a great pleasure to send congratulations to the Foreign Policy Association on its twenty-fifth anniversary. Never has the Association been more needed and more helpful than now."

HUGH GIBSON: "I am looking forward with interest to the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Foreign Policy Association. Those have been years of outstanding national service and I am convinced that the work of the Association is in no small measure responsible for the growth of American interest in foreign problems. Not so long ago we were all deploring the fact that the American people could not be induced to take an interest in foreign problems. We have gone a long way since then and I am sure that a large share of the credit belongs to the Foreign Policy Association."

WILLIAM GREEN, President, American Federation of Labor: "The Foreign Policy Association has performed an outstanding educational and research service during the last twenty-five years. It has helped toward a clearer understanding of the elements involved in determining foreign policy and so helped increasing numbers of our citizenry to use their vote to promote sound, constructive policies. The American Federation of Labor hopes that the Foreign Policy Association will consider adaptation of its information to wider educational uses and thereby extend its services to wider groups of citizens."

SENORA ANA ROSA S. DE MARTINEZ GUERRERO, Presidenta, Comision Inter Americana de Mujeres, BUENOS AIRES: "Con verdadero placer me adhiero a la celebración del 25 Aniversario de la fundación de una Institución que tantos beneficios presta a

la causa de la Humanidad, con sus investigaciones y publicaciones para el mejor conocimiento y entendimiento de los pueblos entre sí, correspondiendole tambien la prioridad de haber iniciado un movimiento de interés en favor de una mejor comprensión con las naciones del Continente Americano."

LEARNED HAND, Judge, U. S. Circuit Court: "We owe the Foreign Policy Association a great debt for its honest and impartial dissemination of information about our foreign relations. It has still much work to do. All good citizens should rejoice in what it has done, and pray that God may give it strength to do more."

LIEUTENANT GENERAL J. G. HARBORD, Chairman of the Board, Radio Corporation of America: "The Foreign Policy Association is making available information on vital subjects not obtainable in any other way. It is doing a really great educational work where it is badly needed. I am devoted to your research publications on subjects on which nearly every intelligent American needs information in this most interesting period of our national life. Nothing touches your efficiency in your chosen lines."

MRS. J. BORDEN HARRIMAN: "The Foreign Policy Association deserves the congratulations of students of world affairs the world over, for the high standards of research which it has set in its readable, yet scholarly reports of the backgrounds of problems of foreign policy, as well as its capable analysis of current situations. Out of the chaos of conflicting political demands, ethnological and political controversies following World War I, when it was founded, it continues to steer an even course in the search for truth as the common basis for international understanding."

WALTER D. HEAD, Past President, Rotary International: "The Foreign Policy Association has, for twenty-five years, been rendering a valuable service to the American public by stimulating interest and spreading information as to our overseas neighbors and our country's international relations. To me its most valuable and unique service has lain in its efforts to popularize these subjects —to get them down to the level of the average citizen. The Headline Books and the Association's Bulletins have consistently been accurate, clear, and intelligible."

HERBERT HOOVER: "I want to be numbered among the old friends to send congratulations on the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the foundation of the Foreign Policy Association. We have had no better and more efficient organization working patiently to

arouse intelligent interest in foreign questions, and the success of this effort is a matter of pride to all friends of the Association."

MRS. HENRY A. INGRAHAM, President, National Board, Y.W.C.A.: "The research and educational activities of the Foreign Policy Association have been of great value to the Public Affairs Committee of the National Board, and discussion meetings and radio programs have been most enlightening. We have found your research publications unsurpassed in thoroughness, accuracy and interest."

WALTER A. JESSUP, President, Carnegie Corporation of New York: "The record of the Foreign Policy Association stands clear in hundreds of books and pamphlets and in the informed opinions of thousands of intelligent citizens who have come under the influence of the Association program for the diffusion of knowledge and understanding. We hope the Association will long continue its effective and useful work."

H. V. KALTENBORN, National Broadcasting Company: "For a quarter century the Foreign Policy Association has been a leader in teaching Americans to know the world in which they live. F.P.A. was a pioneer and leader in bringing to our people authentic information about the great events and developments of which we were a part. The work of the F.P.A. has paralelled our evolution from provincialism. It has made no small contribution to the larger vision with which America faces tomorrow's opportunity for the creation of a more enduring peace."

F. P. KEPPEL: "We hear much today about adult education and its importance, but too many of us think of it as something that is highly desirable for the other fellow, and particularly for the underprivileged other fellow, the illiterate or the foreign-born who needs 'Americanization', or the unskilled man who should have a useful trade. We forget that an essential part of any adult education movement lies in providing opportunity for those who already have enjoyed a sound preparation in formal education, so that they may build upon that foundation in an orderly and constructive way. This is precisely what the Foreign Policy Association does offer, in a highly competent way, and in a field that has always been of importance and is today of supreme significance to the American people."

THOMAS W. LAMONT: "Throughout its first quarter century I have followed closely the work of the Foreign Policy Association. Starting modestly by giving our New York community opportunity for more active and thoughtful discussion of foreign affairs and of America's relation to them, the Association has steadily expanded into an educational institution with many branches throughout the country and with widespread influence, appreciated alike in its services to the public and to our government. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the Foreign Policy Association, with the soundness of its factual studies and its objective comments, has been perhaps the greatest single factor we have had in the enlightenment of the American public upon the significance and vital importance of its attitude toward foreign affairs."

SAM A. LEWISOHN: "What a consistently constructive career the Foreign Policy Association has pursued during its twenty-five years' lifetime! How necessary its purpose has been proven by events. Indeed those who initiated the Association might be called prophetic. For in default of an adequate historical background our electorate in the past has been crippled in working out a sound foreign policy. By helping to create better informed public opinion the Association has made an invaluable contribution. For such a process of education makes it more likely that this country will develop a foreign policy that is both wise and humane."

WALTER LIPPMANN, *New York Herald Tribune:* "I should like to greet the Foreign Policy Association on its twenty-fifth anniversary and to testify to the immense service which the Association has performed during its whole existence. Its public discussions and its research have been a model of how free men look for the truth and learn how to manage their affairs."

ANNE O'HARE MCCORMICK, *The New York Times:* "These twenty-five years of existence of the Foreign Policy Association have been the most crucial in our relations with the world, and I think that no organization has done more to clarify the issues and to educate the people of the United States to their international responsibility. To me personally the reports and research work of the association have been of immense value."

GEORGE MORGAN, St. Paul: "Since the beginning of the Foreign Policy Association in 1918 I have been more or less intimately

associated with its work here in St. Paul and familiar with its research and educational activities. It certainly has a record of outstanding accomplishment. It has been an important factor in bringing a wide public to a better understanding of the need of a constructive American foreign policy."

PHILIP MURRAY, President, Congress of Industrial Organizations: "On behalf of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, I wish to congratulate you on this, your twenty-fifth anniversary, and to express our appreciation for the efforts you have made to educate for peace. Organized labor looks to a world where the common people of all nations can share the benefits of peace and prosperity."

WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON, Chairman, Executive Committee, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace: "No agency for the enlightenment of the public has been so wise and so effective as the Foreign Policy Association. May it be enabled to maintain the tradition it has established until the millenium arrives!"

G. ASHTON OLDHAM, Bishop of Albany: "As a student of and participator in international affairs, I am convinced that no organization has rendered a greater service in informing and guiding public opinion to a right judgment in these important matters than has the Foreign Policy Association. The unquestioned scholarship of its writers, the factual and objective character of its reports, and not least the clear and attractive printing of all its documents have set a standard in this field difficult to excel and exerted an influence hard to surpass and impossible to measure."

ERNEST MINOR PATTERSON, President, The American Academy of Political and Social Science: "There are few organizations so young as the Foreign Policy Association that can compare with it in influence and intelligence of effort. Within the United States through its meetings and its publications it has done more than any other organization to promote discussion and understanding of world affairs. Its work is widely known also in other countries where it has been effective in stimulating similar activities."

MRS. OGDEN REID, Vice President, *New York Herald-Tribune:* "The contribution that has been made by the Foreign Policy Association in research and education has been invaluable to

people who help in making public opinion throughout the country, and with the new thinking on world cooperation it is my belief that the work already done is only a foundation for your opportunity during the years ahead. I hope your forward-looking service will continue with greater strength to benefit America and the whole world."

CHARLES J. RHOADS, Bryn Mawr: "The Foreign Policy Association has done much for all of us and I know many of us are broader minded and more internationally sympathetic because of its educational work year in and year out."

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT: "I send my congratulations and best wishes for the continuance of the Foreign Policy Association's work, on its Twenty-fifth Anniversary. My long association with them makes me appreciate all they have done."

FLORENCE R. SABIN, Denver: "In connection with your forthcoming anniversary, it is now clear that you have been working on a problem of the utmost significance. You have been putting in the slow spade work of education to make our people realize that we must formulate a constructive foreign policy and you have been in a position of leadership in one of the greatest crises of our history."

DAVID SARNOFF, President, Radio Corporation of America: "The Foreign Policy Association, with its twenty-five years of activity bounded by two World Wars, has contributed greatly to the American forum and to public understanding of world affairs. Through the radio and printed word it has helped to create a vast public interest in current history during a quarter century of epoch making events."

CHARLES B. SEARS, Judge, Court of Appeals, State of New York: "All who have been connected with the Foreign Policy Association, or interested in it, know the faith that the Association has exhibited in the dissemination of Truth and in the open and tolerant discussion of problems of relations between the Nations based on Truth. May the Association continue along these well established lines with ever increasing influence. Its part in the assurance of freedom will then grow more and more significant."

JAMES T. SHOTWELL, Director, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: "Throughout these last twenty-five years the F.P.A. has brought to the study of international affairs an ob-

jective realism which has done much to clarify the public mind. While carefully avoiding surrender to any of the 'isms', it has maintained an independence of judgment and fought for the fundamental interests of the nation in its relations with a world which was offering increasingly less attraction to the idealist but a greater and greater challenge to those who realized the dangerous trend of the nationalism of the '20s. It is to be hoped that in the future the progressive influence of the Association will prevent a relapse into the fallacies of the '20s and that it will therefore be able to guide public opinion beyond the primitive stages of a national debate into the definite formulation of the institutions and policies of a community of nations."

N. A. C. SLOTEMAKER deBRUINE, Director, The Netherlands Information Bureau: "The work which the F.P.A. has accomplished in the twenty-five years of its existence is truly amazing. We all know its outstanding meetings, its informative publications and the coordinating work which was needed so badly. Expert reports have created a more genuine interest in foreign affairs and done much to free them from the emotional reactions which are such a disturbing element in our foreign relations."

MARY K. SIMKHOVITCH, Director, Greenwich House: "Perhaps no other one organization has succeeded so well in arousing an intelligent public opinion on foreign affairs as the F.P.A. While fostering impartial discussion, it has shown sound judgment in its findings. At this era of world crisis it is more needed than ever to eliminate hazy and uninformed opinion, and to stress the necessity for maintaining the democratic purposes of the founding fathers."

ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, President and Publisher, *The New York Times:* "The F.P.A. was founded on the simple idea that the judgments of any sovereign people necessarily depend on their access to complete and factual information. Its founders also understood that the greatest enemy of a free society was war, and they therefore set themselves the task of distributing information which would enable our people to form a foreign policy which would guarantee and preserve peace. The nation is again trying to redefine its policy toward the other nations of the world, and our problem is the same as it was when the Association was founded:—to find, define and sustain a foreign policy which will give us peace and honor, and in that task all

channels of information, the F.P.A. among them, have a major responsibility."

RAYMOND GRAM SWING, The Blue Network: "The F.P.A. has made an invaluable contribution to American education. Its publications especially its timely analyses of current problems, have become indispensable to those attempting to keep abreast of foreign affairs."

NORMAN THOMAS: "In the difficult years between two world wars the F.P.A. has played, in my judgment, a very useful role in informing and guiding American public opinion on foreign policy. I have by no means always agreed with its recommendations; I have always appreciated the soundness and fairness of its research work and of its methods of advancing its opinions. It has been careful adequately to summarize various points of view on important issues even when it is rejecting some of those points of view."

PAUL VAN ZEELAND: "The Foreign Policy Association, during a quarter of a century, did even better and more than to enlighten and clarify complex problems of international questions: it helped efficiently and constantly in building increasing support amongst men of good will in favor of concrete solutions aimed at better and freer relations between nations."

THOMAS J. WATSON, President, International Business Machines Corporation: "We have long been accustomed in the United States to our standards of living. It is only recently that the people of our country have come to realize that for these they are necessarily dependent upon the progressive integration of a free world beyond our borders, and upon the development of human relations and of mutually beneficent cooperation between free nations. This growing interest of the people of the United States in the questions of foreign policy which are so closely related to their welfare has been most encouraging. To this progress the F.P.A., by its constant purpose and devoted work during the last twenty-five years, has made a signal contribution, which is deserving of the present recognition and the future support of all Americans who cherish the ideals which have given our country its privileged position in the world."

W. W. WAYMACK, Editor and Vice-President, *The Des Moines Register and Tribune:* "The twenty-five years of the F.P.A.'s existence coincides with the period of national education in planetary

concerns and responsibilities. That the Association has contributed to the maturity of the American public mind, that it has helped importantly to build a base of informedness and of thinking that had direction, is certain. With wisdom or unwisdom, whichever it may be, this nation will now go forward not as a spectator of but as a major participant in all the great affairs of the world. Such poised and intelligent service to general understanding as the Association in the last quarter century has given, it can surely hope to give in the next. This service is in the line of the permanent new national outlook."

MARGUERITE M. WELLS, President, National League of Women Voters: "The League of Women Voters, like many another group throughout the country, has found the F.P.A.'s publications an invaluable resource, and its impartial interpretations of current issues always helpful. Those of us who are committed to furthering an understanding of the need for international cooperation will face the supreme test of our strength in the critical period ahead. It is reassuring to know that the F.P.A. will not only be continuing its splendid work but we hope expanding into even larger fields."

HELEN C. WHITE, President, American Association of University Women: "The A.A.U.W. study groups have found the publications of the F.P.A. constantly helpful because they afford us what is the indispensable basis of all adult education, the precise and up-to-date information of the expert presented in a form that is available to the purposes of the intelligent layman. Beyond this invaluable contribution to the growth of an informed public opinion on foreign affairs in the United States, the F.P.A. has performed a notable public service in its work of developing specialists in the field of international relations."

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE, Editor, *The Emporia Gazette:* "It seems to me that in the past the F.P.A. has done real service by stimulating the leaders of American thought to consider the problems facing the United States from the outside. The debates, the discussions, the books that have come out of the Association have been of immense value to our republic."

JOSEPH H. WILLITS, Director for the Social Sciences, The Rockefeller Foundation: "May I, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Foreign Policy Association, add my congratulations for the outstanding role which the organi-

zation has played in stimulating the discussion of international affairs in this country."

HENRY C. WOLFE: "At a time when it is vitally important that we have an intelligent, enlightened public opinion in this country, no organization is doing so much toward that end as the Foreign Policy Association. It is mobilizing public opinion toward winning the war and the peace. Its twenty-five years of public service have rendered an enormous contribution to the United States and to the world at large. It should have the support of every American."

SIR GILBERT MURRAY, President, International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation: "I send my warmest congratulations to the Foreign Policy Association on its Twenty-Fifth birthday. I have been for almost exactly the same time engaged in almost exactly the same crusade in England as members of the F.P.A. on the other side of the Atlantic: an attempt to make peoples and rulers realize that the normal method of world government must be international co-operation based on knowledge and good will. But the F.P.A. has a further special task of enormous importance to mankind; to induce the American people to realize not merely their immense power, but the responsibilities and duties which, to all men of conscience, are inevitably involved in power. A heavy job, but you have handled it splendidly."

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

Greetings Received at 25th Anniversary Luncheon
October 16, 1943

WINSTON CHURCHILL, Prime Minister of GREAT BRITAIN: "On the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the founding of the Foreign Policy Association I should like you to accept and convey to your members my hearty congratulations and best wishes for the future. During these twenty-five years your Association has labored unremittingly to study and explain to the people of the United States the complex pattern of those international relationships which in one way or another, directly or indirectly, affect the daily lives of us all. A knowledge of these relationships is essential for that closer understanding between peoples which alone can provide the basis for a more enduring cooperation between them and for a more enlightened ordering of world affairs. The time will soon come when the free citizens of each great democracy will have to choose and range their strength behind whatever international policy appears to them best designed to insure the future security and prosperity of their country and of the world. Your Association is performing an educational service of high value in keeping steadily before your public the issues at stake so that when the moment comes they may make the right choice. On this much of the future happiness of mankind will depend."

ALBERTO GILBERT, Minister for Foreign Affairs of ARGENTINA: "In my capacity of Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic, I am exceedingly pleased to extend to the Association on its Twenty-Fifth Anniversary the congratulations of this government for the efficient work done during that quarter of a century in furtherance of the mutual understanding and the constructive development of the inter-American foreign policy, with our best wishes for a greater intensification of those activities in the future. Please accept my cordial greetings."

CHRISTIAN GUNTHER, SWEDISH Minister for Foreign Affairs: "I wish to express to you and the Foreign Policy Association my

great appreciation of the rôle the Association is playing in disseminating factual and impartial information regarding the manifold international problems of our time."

NORMAN ARMOUR, American Ambassador to Argentina: "May I extend to you on this Twenty-Fifth Anniversary heartiest congratulations on the fine work accomplished by the Foreign Policy Association and best wishes for its continued success."

CARLTON J. H. HAYES, American Ambassador to Spain: "I do wish to testify to you my continuing and profound admiration for the great educational work which the Foreign Policy Association has done during the past twenty-five years, and my conviction that, as the present war proceeds and eventually is followed by an international peace organization in which the United States will have to play a leading rôle, there will be a still greater need and opportunity for the Foreign Policy Association and its educational work."

JOHN G. WINANT, American Ambassador to Great Britain: "May I begin by thanking you for your consistent and timetaking effort over the years to inform the American people on international relationships. These relationships carry on during peace and war whether by moral persuasion or by force of arms. On understanding the issues involved and the values confronting us depend the security and happiness of mankind."

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

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